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of the Christian nations as only civilized pagans, it would sound shocking, but it is a fact that they are mighty sinners, and engaged in work that gives the lie to the Golden Rule. They have made the name Christian nation a travesty and a fraud. Yet I believe that this is to be changed, through the mighty power that acts outside ourselves and works for righteousness and good. Will the great human heart be always indifferent and unresponsive to the great call of God our Father? A thousand times no! So we will not be discouraged though matters move slowly and at times seem against us, but will endeavor, as far as we can, to hold up the right standard, and call men and women equally to respond to it.

The Real Sign of Promise.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Facing the new century, I have no impending millennium to predict. I distrust pictures of peace from artists in words colored all the more highly when war is at its worst. Anything that cultivates complacent inaction, because Duty, or Destiny, or Providence is alleged to be at the helm, deadens moral resistance and smooths the path of tyranny. The soothing strains from cheerful optimists have been frequent through the ages when freedom was imperiled, but not from lips of saints and martyrs.

Whittier rightly bade the discouraged reformer to

"Clothe the waste with dreams of grain,
And on midnight's sky of rain
Paint the golden morrow."

It was useful and strengthening counsel. But when optimism is encouraged, not to cheer, but to overwhelm the reformer and shield the wrong, as is so frequent in these days, it takes on the aspect of an evil accomplice. The time demands, not pæans of triumph, but clarion calls for soldiers of the Cross. A nation with gory hands is out of place at a love-feast.

A cruel fact confronts us. We are entering the twentieth century after the birth of the Prince of Peace, while the millions of his professed disciples constituting the foremost nations of the earth are waging and defending bloody strife. The moralist can draw but a single conclusion. Either the doctrines of the deified Nazarene are valueless, or his worshipers lack the remotest comprehension of the truths he taught.

Generalizations are never absolutely accurate — always a margin of exceptions exists; but if we search the habitable globe to-day for superlative evidences of heathenism, for actions most in conflict with the rules laid down by Jesus, our glance rests upon governments wearing the title of Christian. We see Russia crushing out by force the nationality of Finland and steadily tightening its grasp on Manchuria. In Germany a mediæval monarch orders his armies, in the name of Christ, to devastate a foreign country in the spirit of revenge for justly resisted invasion, — a scene as horrible as the world has witnessed since it was first sent whirling into space. England, with piety on its tongue, is trying to crush out the life of one of the most stalwart races fitted to survive; one whose extermination would be a loss to mankind. Fortunately, in William Watson's words, "Nature, with the heart of man allied, is hard to overthrow." And "Time's last and noblest offspring," the United States, is busily

murdering a distant people for their presumption in following the precepts and example set by Washington and Lincoln.

We look in vain for the protest of American organized Christianity against this repudiation of the Golden Rule. From the triumphant political majority of the nation comes emphatic endorsement of this betrayal of the Declaration of Independence. What a satire it is that the tersest and most telling truths should emanate from the pens and lips of professional humorists, the Dooleys and Mark Twains! Could anything more truly hold the mirror up to nature than Twain's pungent presentation of the nineteenth to the twentieth century? And how indelibly is our relationship to England preserved in his words "kin in sin"!

We know too well the defensive rejoinders. The critic is accused of magnifying the shades and omitting the lights of the picture. He is adjured to dwell upon the advances which civilization has made since the sun of the eighteenth century disappeared below the horizon; to think of the spread of education; and most of all of the increase of wealth and bodily comfort, — a progress which, conceded, makes all the more inexcusable the present swing toward barbarism.

It is difficult to accept such exhortation with composure. The morning papers bring to us the hideous details of the burning of an accused negro at the stake in the City of Leavenworth, Kansas, in the presence of eight thousand people. The scene was not in Dahomey or in Armenia, but in the prairie state wrested from slavery and dedicated to freedom and justice. And everywhere institutes of education and religion abound.

Is the end of education deftness in human destruction? Is it the rearing of children in health, learning and righteousness for the trade of killing? Is wealth desirable, won by the impoverishment of other nations or heaped up by the exploitation of the laboring masses at home? Is book learning more important than justice, or luxury than human rights?

"Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers, must our manhood kick
the beam?"

The first steps to reformation are consciousness of guilt and sincere repentance. No emphasis of a man's good qualities excuses his deliberate crime. They aggravate the situation, because, knowing better, he sins against the light. It is the same with nations. Therefore in saluting the new century, instead of indulging in visions of greatness and prosperity, it is fitting that we consider the true way to bring these blessings to pass. The future can spring only from the present, and we are responsible for the soil.

The conference at The Hague has been hailed in many quarters as a great step toward the abolition of war. This meeting is largely to celebrate it. With no desire to question the humanitarian impulse of the Czar in its inception, I take the liberty to doubt the sincerity of the participating nations and the leading representatives sent to the conclave. Military men, diplomatists, supporters of despotism, were among the foremost in the councils and debates. Not one protest against the infernal system that attempts to kill ideas with bullets found utterance in the congress. It was not a body representative of the people who were absent and forgotten, but of

governments steeped in militarism. Not the love of peace, but the fear of ominous financial burdens accumulating in all nations, was the underlying motive.

Let us rejoice that selfishness is often a spur to righteousness; but it is depressing to see so many true friends of peace resting with such complacency upon this hollow demonstration, the immediate prelude to three wars of plunder and aggression, involving the principal governments represented at The Hague. If arbitration is desired by any one of these great powers, it is chiefly as a peaceful method of dividing the spoils wrung from weaker peoples. It was impossible for Nicholas to select representatives of the Russian people or Kaiser Wilhelm of his German subjects. Had such been sent the whole system of governments built upon the suppression of individual rights would have trembled to its foundation. Wars are not made by peoples. They have no misunderstandings and need no courts of arbitration. It is the arbitrary rulers who seek to guard their own interests, and whose overthrow must come before the angel of peace shall spread her wings in any land.

We need to concentrate our efforts on the causes of war, not on the mitigation of its cruelties. Lessening the horrors only perpetuates the custom. The time is ripe to expose the system and to decry the soldier's trade. We cannot conceive of a practice too demoralizing, a brutality too beastly, a crime too infamous for war to cover. It violates every command of the Decalogue. It crushes man's spiritual nature and rouses the basest animal passions. No matter if waged in a just cause, its concomitants are ever the same. Yet, as Thackeray said :

" Your orthodox historian puts
In foremost rank the soldier thus,
The red-coat bully in his boots,
That hides the march of men from us.

" He puts them there in foremost rank,
You wonder at his cap of hair;
You hear his sabre's cursed clank,
His spurs are jingling everywhere.

" Go to! I hate him and his trade,
Who bade us so to cringe and bend,
And all God's peaceful people made
To such as him subservient ?

" Tell me, what find we to admire
In epaulets and scarlet coats —
In men because they load and fire,
And know the art of cutting throats ?"

More than a sentimental protest is needed. The military system should be made odious and a uniform should be a badge of degradation. Chivalry, which has a semblance of unselfishness and nobility, was made grotesque and ridiculous by pens mightier than the sword; dueling, which has the excuse of direct personal injury or insult, has been outlawed in the leading nations, and the law overtakes offenders. But regular armies have neither knightly impulse to prompt them nor personal grievances to avenge. They are composed of puppets who smother thought and become brainless machines of blind obedience. Everywhere and always they are dangers to civilization, the tools of tyrants and oligarchies. Educated to a false reverence for rulers, possessed by the illusion that one's native land is necessarily the best and greatest, the soldier makes a fetish of a flag, polluted though it be in evil service. The whole

delusion needs to be dispelled by a revived Christianity and returning common-sense.

Tolstoy has struck the key-note. Down with the patriotism which goes for country right or wrong! Up with the flag of universal brotherhood that knows no difference of clime or race when liberty is in peril. Only where liberty is should the true man's country be. And when his own land is the betrayer of human rights, he cannot be too swift to censure and oppose it. Instead of applauding our regiments of schoolboys as they parade the streets, imbibing the spirit of violence in institutions that should teach abhorrence of war in every form, our protest should swell to thunderous tones against such prostitution of public education. Military drill in public schools means soon or late established militarism and the impoverishment of the people through taxes for armies and navies.

The strife of nations with each other springs from rottenness at home. First pure, then peaceable. The hopeful part of the situation is the manifest reaction taking place in the popular mind. The realization that we have become Spaniards in colonial practice is troubling many consciences. The decisive battle which is to settle the question of imperialism is to be fought in the United States and not in the Philippines. It will not be won by the subjugation of alien peoples, but through self-conversion influenced by material disaster. Nations can no more indulge in debauches and profligacy without pecuniary loss than individuals. On the heels of boastful prosperity the Nemesis of depression surely stalks. When the devil of greed is sick, the devil a saint would be.

The real sign of promise is the growing opposition in thoughtful minds to the settlement of international disputes by force. Though the present barbarous wars parallel in infamy the worst on record, there never were so many voices as now, here and abroad, crying out against the military idea. They will be heard louder as the martial spirit weakens and declines. Tolstoy, by divine right the leader of the forces for peace, from his Russian home preaches the gospel of love with a power only second to that of him who uttered the Beatitudes. In German accents from the Baroness von Suttner the world is besought to lay down its arms and suffer war no more. Renan, though dead, yet speaketh for the Gallic race. Against the cry of revenge for German wrongs we hear his earnest protest: "No vengeance! Perish France rather! Perish the idea of country! Higher still is the kingdom of Duty and Reason!"

And Anglo-Saxon voices are joining in the chorus. Where Bright and Cobden stood almost alone in Great Britain in denunciation of the Crimean War, incurring insult and obloquy, the English opponents of the Transvaal invasion have been many and unafraid, in spite of mobs and imputations of treason. In our own country when one compares the few outspoken protestants against the Mexican war with the volume of dissent and dissatisfaction at the conquest of the Philippines, he finds ground for encouragement and hope. By and by we shall outgrow the desire to lop off the leaves and twigs of the war system and shall strike at its roots with the axe of non-resistance. Then we shall no longer strain at the gnat of the canteen while swallowing the camel of militarism. War is the hotbed of drunkenness and

lust. Those who would make it respectable are its unconscious allies. It will duly fall by the weight of its own crimes. But before the spirit of peace can control Hague conferences it must dominate London, Berlin, New York and Paris.

Great century of possibilities, following the disappointing past with its crushed aspirations and noble dreams, grant that within your reign mankind shall cease to combat reason with slaughter, and that the bells of your closing may "Ring in a thousand years of peace."

The Present Position of the Peace Movement.

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

Short views are nearly always deceptive. It is only the long view that gives any adequate conception of the progress of a cause involving the interests of all peoples and of many generations. Taking the long view, what do we find to be the present position of the arbitration and peace movement, and what the hope for the future?

If we imagine ourselves at the beginning of the last century, we shall find that, so far as any hope even for the organization of a peace movement was concerned, the world was a desert with no oasis in it. War was practically universal and unceasing. The campaigns of Napoleon gave Europe no peace for the first fifteen years of the century; at the close of the century, thirty years have passed without any war between the civilized and so-called Christian nations of western Europe.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had been no cases of international arbitration worth mentioning; at the close of the century, there have been, as the last edition of Dr. Darby's book on "International Tribunals" shows, one hundred and ninety-five cases of international controversy settled by arbitration boards, and by commissions proceeding on the arbitration principle. During the first decade of the century there was no case of arbitration; during the second decade but one or two; during the third there were four cases; and the number has increased, until within the last decade (1890-1900) there were sixty-three cases of disputes between nations settled by arbitration.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no peace association in existence, and so far as I can find no one had been thought of; there were individual peace men and women, but no organization. At the close of the century, there are ninety-one peace societies in the civilized nations of the world, with about three hundred and forty-seven groups under them, making in all four hundred and thirty-eight peace organizations. These peace societies have become united in a permanent bond of union, through the International Peace Bureau, in existence now for ten years, at the international city of Berne.

At the beginning of the century, no peace congress or conference had been held, or even thought of. At the close of the century, fourteen peace congresses have been held, five between the years 1843-1852 and nine between the years 1889-1900, the last and greatest of all being the magnificent gathering at the recent International Exposition in Paris. And not only have these interna-

tional peace congresses been held, but also peace conferences like that at Lake Mohonk for the last six years, and national conferences in various countries of Europe. The peace congress or conference is now one of the standing phenomena of the time.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, no national legislature or parliament had ever considered or had introduced into it a resolution in favor of the principle of arbitration in international difficulties. At the close of the century, the national legislatures of the United States, of Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Norway, Denmark,—in fact, of nearly all the nations of western Europe as well as our own,—have passed resolutions, the more recent ones by unanimous vote, favoring the application of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of international difficulties. The first of these resolutions voted upon was introduced by Richard Cobden in 1849, and since that time the civilized world has practically placed itself on record by parliamentary vote as in favor of this method of settling difficulties.

At the beginning of the century, there was no organization for the study and development of international law. A few international jurists there were, but no international law association. At the close of the century, there has existed for about thirty years the Institute of International Law, a body of experts, year by year studying the nature and bearings of the principles of international law; and also the International Law Association, a body of experts and others whose aim is to improve and better formulate the system of international law.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century,—even at the middle of it,—no member of a national parliament had thought of entering into fellowship with members of other national parliaments to promote the cause of international good-understanding and peace. At the close of the century, the most important political association of men on the globe is the Inter-Parliamentary Peace Union, made up of members of different parliaments. It consists at the present time of fifteen hundred men, all members or ex-members of parliaments, constituting an arbitration group in the parliament of every civilized country. Even distinguished Russian statesmen—since Russia has no parliament—have been admitted as associate members of this body.

At the beginning of the century, the idea of international treaties of arbitration had not appeared; no one had suggested them. At its close one of the subjects most discussed in international relations is that of treaties for the settlement of controversies by arbitration, and the putting of arbitral clauses into other treaties. We have, at the close of the century, not only the Hague treaty, now ratified and in force, but between the Argentine Republic and Italy a treaty for the settlement by arbitration of all difficulties whatever which may arise between them. Many other countries are discussing the negotiation of such treaties.

At the beginning of the century, no arbitral clause had been put into treaties of commerce. Now, not less than twenty of the important commercial treaties negotiated in recent years have had inserted in them a clause providing that disputes arising under the treaty shall be referred to arbitration.